FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AND OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SEPTEMBER 16, 1916

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WEED, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger

"Be Patient; You'll Get There"

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

AND

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: To secure an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

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The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
and of the National Woman's Party
Lafayette, Square, Washington, D. C.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1916

Notes of the Week

Suffragists Point Out the Way

THAT suffragists had shown the way to gain the recognition of the two dominant political parties was asserted by Dr. Ira Landrith, vice-presidential candidate on the Prohibition ticket, during his campaign tour through Wisconsin last week.

Dr. Landrith asserted that if the Prohibitionists had been as threatening in their demands upon the two big parties as the suffragists were, both would have written dry planks into their platforms long ago.

Great High Chief of Blackfeet Indian Tribe Congratulates Miss Paul on Stand for Federal Amendment

RED FOX JAMES (Skiu-Hu-Shu), Great High Chief of the Blackfeet Indians, has written a letter to Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union, congratulating her on her "strong effort to center on the adoption of a federal Sufferage Amendment."

Red Fox James claims for his race credit for the idea of woman suffrage.

"In the early days," he says, "befor the whiteman came, the Indian women had equal voice in the Council and even was elected has chieftain; so you see this is real American idea original from the Indians befor white-women taken it up."

Red Fox James declares that he is "always truely in sympathy with the women as consern a voice in the ballot of the country. Truely I regret to say I do not believe in state right, according to Wilsons plan, for if Mr. Wilson believe in his' own state for women to vote, what is the difference in all states."

Republican Victory in Maine Shows Need of Democratic Party for Western States

THE sweeping Republican victory in Maine last Monday shows the weakneses of the Democratic party in the East and their corresponding need for strength in the equal suffrage states of the West.

Another Thing for Women to Remember

NOT one piece of legislation in the interests of women is cited by the Democratic party in its "Record of Achievement" now being held up by them as the primary reason why they should be returned to power.

This party during four years of power has absolutely ignored women. How can it now expect their support?

Illinois Women Vote for Few Offices

LESS than 14 per cent of the registered women voters in Chicago balloted in the primary September 14, according to the Washington *Herald*.

The small vote was attributed to the scarcity of offices for which they might vote.

The injustice of partial suffrage will only be remedied by the adoption by the federal constitution of the amendment extending suffrage to women.

Methods Used to Gain Consideration

SENATOR KENYON'S bill is passed. THE SUFFRAGIST for July 29 of this year, in an article entitled "Methods used to gain consideration in Congress," called attention to the Senator's fight for a bill authorizing a probe into the cost of living among wage-earners in the District of Columbia. "Mr. President," he said, "I wish to say that this joint resolution is going to receive consideration at this session of Congress." The Senator said that he would object to all other legislation until it did. The bill passed the Senate in the closing hours before adjournment.

The passage of this bill shows that had the western members desired to employ the same means, they might have done as much for the federal suffrage resolution.

Federal Law Covers Birds But Not Women

THE New York *Tribune* of September 10, says: "The federal law for the protection of migratory birds has gone into effect." Why not a law to protect migratory women?

Woman Suffrage Wins in British Columbia

PRACTICALLY complete returns from last Friday's election assure the adoption of woman suffrage in British Columbia.

English Suffragists Address Letter to Asquith

PREMIER ASQUITH of England has received a letter bearing the signatures of many well known people of Great Britain in which the views of England's suffragists are set forth. It had been planned to express these views to Mr. Asquith in a deputation, but owing to his increased duties since the outbreak of the war, he has not been able to receive the deputation.

The letter concludes:

"We would remind you that adult suffrage has been, or is being successfully adopted in most of our colonies. In view of probable closer imperial relations it would be an injustice to the mother country to leave unenfranchised about two-thirds of its men and women. It would be a fine and dramatic testimony to freedom if out of the war emerged a people wholly enfranchised."

Railroads of Germany Employ Thousands of Women

RECENT Berlin dispatches give some figures of the number of women in Germany who are filling the places left vacant by the men at the front. One dispatch says that there are thirty-five thousand women now employed on the railroads alone.

The majority of them are telegraph operators and office clerks, but thousands are employed in the actual operation of the roads. They act as conductors, depot guards, switch and crossing tenders, car washers, track walkers, baggage masters and in many other capacities. Wuerttenberg even has two woman station masters, and in Bavaria a large freight depot is in charge of a woman.

Senator Pittman and the Federal Suffrage Amendment

A Record of Inconsistency

IN 1913, Senator Pittman of Nevada declared himself in favor of federal woman suffrage.

In presenting to the Senate petitions of Nevada women praying for favorable action on the Susan B. Anthony amendment, Senator Pittman said (July 31, 1913):

"Mr. President: I have the honor to present, on behalf of the women of Nevada, petitions in support of the joint resolution.

"While I do not intend to make any argument in support of it, as I do not believe it is required, and because there are others who can more ably discuss the matter, I cannot refrain from stating that the men of my state believe women should have the right to vote. We realize that the purification of the administration of our government is the most important question before the people today. We believe that the absolute and unrestricted enfranchisement of women will do more to purify our government than all of the corrupt-practice bills that can be enacted into law.

"On two separate occasions the legislature of my state has passed almost unanimously a resolution amending the constitution so as to grant to women the unrestricted and absolute franchise in the state. I feel that I am able to say that at the next election the men of the state will almost unanimously confirm the action of the legislature. I ask that the petitions be referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage."

On August 15, of the same year, Senator Pittman said to Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, *"I am in favor of woman suffrage and the federal suffrage amendment";* and to Mrs. Kennedy, member of the state executive committee of the Nevada Woman Suffrage Association, he wrote, on August 16, 1913, "I take pleasure in calling your attention to the fact that I supported on the floor of the Senate the resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States, granting equal franchise to women."

After these emphatic declarations of support, Senator Pittman astonished Nevada women by voting *against* the federal suffrage amendment in the Senate on March 19, 1914.

To Miss Anne Martin, president of the Nevada Woman Suffrage Association, who wrote expressing the keen disappointment of her league at this sudden departure of Senator Pittman from his expressed convictions, he answered (April 10, 1914):

"I appreciate your kind letter of the twenty-second and regret that the society is disappointed in my vote on the national amendment. I believe, however, that before long it will become apparent that my stand was for the best interest of the West. Your argument: 'If the negro, why not American womanhood?' does not settle the question, because I am opposed to the ignorant negro having the right to vote.

"I am in favor of giving women the right to vote, because I believe that it will raise the average standard of the voter of the country, but to give the women the right to vote in some of the southern states would simply increase the proportion of ignorant voters."

Later he wrote Miss Martin again (February 27, 1916),

"Conditions may develop which will justify me in actively supporting such resolution. I believe, however, it is far better to accomplish the result, if possible, through state legislation;" and on January 23, 1916, he promised Miss Martin that he would vote favorably on the suffrage amendment, thus coming around to the position he had occupied two years and a half before.

But while Senator Pittman says he favors the Anthony amendment, his dealings with this measure and with its advocates have been thoroughly untrustworthy.

Recent Activity Against the Suffrage Amendment

At the Democratic national convention held in St. Louis last June, Senator Pittman was earnestly urged to speak in favor of the *federal suffrage amendment* on the floor of the convention. This he refused to do. Instead, he made a speech, full of references to wives, sweethearts, and mothers, in support of the suffrage plank drafted by President Wilson —the plank which, according to the President himself, *forbids* federal action upon woman suffrage.

Thus Senator Pittman helped to fasten upon the Democratic party a plank opposing the amendment he says he advocates.

A week later, July 8, 1916, Senator Pittman, speaking in the Ebbitt Hotel, Washington, D. C., argued against a federal suffrage amendment.

"The needless rushing ahead of the times in pushing this matter upon unwilling people shows a lack of wisdom," the Senator declared.

"The federal suffrage amendment could not be ratified even if the Democratic party put it through Congress," he said, though it ought to have been apparent to him that *if* it "could not be ratified," it would not be "forced upon unwilling people."

"If I were the most ardent enemy of woman suffrage," he said, in the course of the same address, "I would make it a point to vote for the Susan B. Anthony amendment, because I know it would hurt the cause." Later, however, in answer to a direct question from the audience, he said he would vote for the Anthony amendment.

Mrs. William Kent, of California, and a number of other suffragists who were present at this meeting, were amazed at Senator Pittman's attack on the amendment he had promised to support.

Unfair Criticism of Federal Amendment

His statement that a federal suffrage amendment could not be ratified is extremely misleading. A federal amendment does not need to be ratified immediately. Once it has passed Congress, it has passed it for good; and lies before the states till three-fourths of their legislatures decide to ratify it. If a state ratifies, the action is final. If it refuses to ratify, it can reconsider. The advantages are all on the side of the amendment, after it is through Congress.

Senator Pittman knows these facts. On August 21, 1916, he debated this very point with Senator Brandegee of Connecticut.

"If we should pass this amendment tomorrow and submit it to the states," said Senator Pittman, "there are only twelve states out of the forty-eight in which there would be any hope, in my opinion, at the present time of ratifying it. . . . . And yet, if it is submitted to the states, it will require a vote by three-fourths of the states to ratify it. The hopelessness of it at this time is too apparent.

"Let me say what the result of the suffrage amendment will be if this is accomplished. It goes to the states and fails to get the necessary three-fourths and is killed. When they go into an individual state for the purpose of urging it upon the voters of such a state, the people will say, 'We decided that question the other day; we decided against you and it is over forever.'"

Senator Brandegee interposed, "Let me suggest to the Senator that if a certain amendment is submitted, it can be outstanding for twenty or thirty years; and after it finally secures the vote of three-fourths of the states, it will become operative."

"That is true," said Senator Pittman.

Attacks Hughes for Favoring Suffrage Amendment

In the closing days of Congress, Senator Pittman attacked Mr. Hughes (August 5 and August 21) for "insincerity" in advocating a federal suffrage amendment.

Senator Pittman utters no word of criticism against President Wilson for using every effort to crush the federal suffrage amendment; but he attacks Mr. Hughes for favoring it "insincerely."

He also accused Mr. Hughes (August 21, 1916) of threatening to "coerce the Republican party into voting for the Susan B. Anthony amendment;" if not, he said, Mr. Hughes' declarations on suffrage were "a fraud and a deception."

These charges were so apparently unjust that a Democrat, Senator Stone of Missouri, rose to answer them.

"These women know, as well as we," said Senator Stone, "that the power and influence of the President of the United States is very great. I have been here in the two Houses of Congress for many years under a good many Presidents—from Cleveland's first administration down to now—and I know about these matters. What is the use of our evading and trying to fool ourselves or anybody else? The President of the United States is looked to lead the way in carrying forward the constructive policies of his party. Do these women, who are flocking to the standard of Mr. Hughes because of what he has said, expect him to sit in the White House with his lips closed because of a delicate apprehension that if he said a word to the Senator from Iowa or the Senator from Pennsylvania, it might be thought he was intruding upon forbidden ground? You know better than that; you know these women expect and that you expect and that he expects, if he is dealing squarely, fairly, and honestly with these people, to use his influence as the Chief Executive to promote the thing he favors. If that be not true, he is a weakling and unfit to be the President of the United States."

Since the beginning of his election campaign Senator Pittman has turned his attack on suffragists,—women who have devoted years of unselfish personal labor to the advancement of the suffrage amendment;—and he concludes by asking the women of Nevada to endorse the record of the Democratic party, so hostile to women, by returning him again to the Senate.

In seeking re-election on the Democratic ticket, Senator Pittman is acting in his own interest and the interest of the Democratic party; but directly against the interest of the national enfranchisement of women.

Echoes of Governor Hughes' Western Tour

Governor Hughes at San Diego Exposition

Mrs. Vernon Voorhees Rood, Representing Woman's Party, Welcomes Governor Hughes

SUFFRAGISTS of Tennesseee extended a cordial welcome to Governor Hughes September 4, when the Republican nominee for President visited Nashville in the course of his first campaign tour.

A committee of thirty of the most representative women of the state thanked him for his stand on the suffrage issue and heard him again declare his belief that the federal suffrage amendment should be submitted by Congress and ratified by the states.

Mrs. James S. Frazer acted as chairman of the delegation, which included Mrs. James S. Beasley, chairman of the women's reception committee for the city's visitors, Mrs. John M. Kenney and others.

The group of women were escorted by the men's committee to the Hughes' private suite and introduced collectively by Governor Rye.

"May I not have the pleasure of meeting each of the ladies?" asked Mr. Hughes.

The interview was brief but Mr. Hughes repeated to the women his view on the federal amendment and added that the voting women of the West "seemed well informed, energetic and capable and to thoroughly enjoy exercising the franchise."

Mrs. John Kenney then informed Judge Hughes that though Tennessee was in the section where the states' right doctrine is strong, still there was strong feeling there for the federal amendment. She informed him as to the voting strength of the cause in Congress for the state, and told him in conclusion that he has personally won many Democrats to the Republican banner by his endorsement of the federal amendment.

One thousand women wearing suffrage colors cheered Mr. Hughes in Topeka, Kansas, on September 1.

"Yesterday, for the first time," says the Topeka *Daily Capital* of September 2, "an audience greeting a presidential candidate in Topeka contained practically as many women as men. The largest previous attendance of women at presidential campaign meetings came in 1912, when suffrage was pending. Even at that time there was only a sprinkling of women in the crowds. Yesterday the women voters turned out in full force and showed their enthusiasm by the yellow badges of the Hughes Alliance and the purple, white and gold of the Woman's Party."

Four little girls dressed in white and wearing sashes of the Woman's Party colors presented Mr. Hughes with a great bouquet of purple and white astors tied with yellow ribbon. They were Maxine Middleton, Evelyn Shaw, Theresa Marie Blitz and Rosamond Nyman.

Little Theresa Marie Blitz was color bearer for the Congressional Union delegation to President Wilson last February and with the women, waited in the snow for an hour till the President consented to see them.

Speeches were made from an automobile decorated with Woman's Party colors by Miss Katherine Morey and Miss Kathleen Taylor, who are aiding the Woman's Party organization in Kansas.

The Atlantic City Speech

Wilson Takes Inevitable Attitude of Party Politician on Suffrage

WHEN the history of the conversion of the American male electorate into acquiescence in votes for women comes to be written, one of the most interesting chapters in the whole volume will be the account of President Wilson's progress from somewhat equivocal opposition to a similarly equivocal advocacy. Previous to his election to the presidency and for some time thereafter, he was not willing to trust women with the vote, although he was too prudent publicly to announce his opinions. Later when pressed for a frank statement he sheltered himself behind his party, and refused to use his influence in favor of suffrage, because his party had not instructed him what to say and to do. Later still when the submission of a suffrage amendment in New Jersey compelled him to announce a personal preference, he elected to vote for the enfranchisement of women; but in doing so he was still careful to dissociate his preference from any party meaning or any special responsibility for urging others to follow his example. Recently his party declared for woman suffrage in so far as it could be obtained by amending state constitutions, and Mr. Wilson is known to share this attitude. It is the inevitable attitude of a party politician in approaching suffrage, because it squares his record without committing him or his associates to any responsibility for promoting their ostensible opinions. Yet although he is known to be opposed to a federal suffrage amendment, he was still careful in his speech at Atlantic City not to make an offensive parade of his convictions. All he did was to express "impatience" with the lively current discussion of the method whereby suffrage was to be achieved. He has reached, consequently, the stage of not overtly opposing a federal amendment, at least during a campaign against an opponent who frankly favors it. Probably he will not progress further than this during the present campaign; but suffragists may well be encouraged to believe that the firm yet discreet exercise of a little more pressure will finally open the President's mind to the advantages of securing suffrage by means of a federal amendment.—*The New Republic.*

Heard on the Beach at Atlantic City

"What did Wilson talk to the Suffragists about?"
"Oh, about fifteen minutes!"

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson.

In the House, on December 6, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

Present Status

In the Senate, on the calendar, awaiting action.

In the House, before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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Wilson's Vote on Suffrage in New Jersey

PRESIDENT WILSON'S supporters are now calling Heaven to witness that their candidate "went all the way to New Jersey" to cast a vote for suffrage in that state.

President Wilson did vote for suffrage in New Jersey.

In Congress, where the chances for the success of woman suffrage were good, he turned his whole party machine against it; in New Jersey, where defeat was sure, he cast a solitary vote in its favor.

He did this after the Congressional Union had campaigned against the Democratic party in 1914 on the suffrage issue; and after ten thousand men and women, gathered together at the closing session of the Woman Voters' Convention in September, 1915, had despatched messengers to the President to tell him that women would put the enfranchisement of their sex above the interest of any national political party.

A vote for suffrage in New Jersey helped the President's case with women voters, and did not bring votes for women in the East one step nearer.

The national activities of the suffrage movement in every part of the Union had pushed the President to the states' rights position—that comfortable halting place at which professional politicians are wont to declare that they love the principle you are fighting for fully as much as you do; but that they are withheld from giving you any help whatever by their devotion to the constitution or their "passion for local self-government."

Once arrived at this point, on what ground *could* the President have refused to vote for woman suffrage when it came up within his own state?

His vote for suffrage in New Jersey was a cold political necessity.

In announcing that he would support suffrage in 1915, President Wilson gave out a chilly statement, devoted far more to his opposition to suffrage in Congress than his support of it in New Jersey. He said:

"I intend to vote for woman suffrage in New Jersey because I believe that the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the state; but I shall vote not as the leader of my party in the nation, but only upon my private conviction as a citizen of New Jersey called upon by the legislature of the state to express his convictions at the polls. I think that New Jersey will be greatly benefited by the change. My position with regard to the way in which this great question should be handled is well known. I believe that it should be settled by the states and not by the national government, and that in no circumstances should it be made a party question; and my view has grown stronger at every turn of the agitation."

Where was Mr. Wilson's "reckless enthusiasm for human liberty," his "passion for local self-government," when he penned this frigid paragraph on freedom for women?

Such a statement would not win a single vote for suffrage, and positively warned Democrats in New Jersey that they were not expected to follow him in the matter.

To the New Jersey campaign he gave not the slightest assistance; he did not speak for it; or make any attempt to influence opinion in its favor.

Reecntly, the President has promised Colorado women that he would do everything he "properly and legitimately could" to help suffrage in the several states. If he does no more through the country than in his own state, where his personal influence is presumably strongest, the promise is indeed an empty one.

New Jersey went against suffrage; the President's district went against suffrage. The politicians controlling the state chose one of the registration days for the day on which the suffrage amendment was to be voted on. This meant that any man could register anywhere in the state and then walk right in to the polls and cast his vote on the suffrage amendment. There was no opportunity to check up the registration lists. The election was at the mercy of the local politicians. Experienced friends of suffrage assured New Jersey women that when this day was set for the vote on suffrage, their amendment perished then and there.

President Wilson was in a position to know these facts. When he voted for suffrage, he was voting for a lost cause. His one vote did not help suffrage, and it put him in a stronger position to continue his opposition to it in Congress. It is his mainstay now—that one vote—when he is seeking four million women's votes in the West.

When we ask help from the President of the United States, we ask it from him as a national leader, responsible to the men and women of the whole nation, and clothed with national power. We do not ask it from Mr. Wilson of Princeton.

It is quite obvious that when he asks the support and confidence of the men and women of the nation, he asks it as a national leader,—not as a citizen of New Jersey; and he has no right to attempt to offset with his private acts his national record on a national issue.

Woman's Party Campaign Now in Full Swing

New Workers, Speakers, and Organizers Added to Ranks—Press Chairman Now in Chicago

THE campaign of the Woman's Party in the equal suffrage states, which has been gaining momentum from the start, is now in full swing. Within the past week or so a number of trained organizers and experienced speakers have joined the forces previously at work, so that all the gaps are now filled up and everything is ready for the "big drive" against the Democratic stronghold of federal amendment opposition. There will be not let up in the activity of the campaign workers between now and November 7, when the grand assault on the enemy's entrenchments will be made.

Reports of gains in the preliminary fighting all along the line continue to come from the organizers in the various states. Democratic women in large numbers are declaring that they will not vote for President Wilson. Enthusiastic meetings are being held in all the states, the response is inspiring and not a meeting goes by, the reporters add, without numbers of the Democratic women present signing the Woman's Party pledge to oppose the party which oposes the enfranchisement of America's women.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker
Who will have charge of the press work of the Woman's Party Campaign

Among the latest to leave Washington to take part in the appeal of the eastern women to the women voters of the West for help in gaining their political freedom, was Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, press chairman of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. To her is assigned the important task of directing the publicity of the Woman's Party campaign. Mrs. Baker brings to this work experience, a quick perception of news values and a mind trained to grasp readily the essentials of any new problem which confronts her.

As director of publicity on the swing of the "Suffrage Special" through the West early in the summer, Mrs. Baker gained not only much experience which will be of value to her in the present campaign, but formed personal acquaintances with hundreds of editors in the western states. Mrs. Baker, who is the wife of a Washington physician, is descended from a long line of distinguished army and navy ancestors. She will make her headquarters during the campaign in Chicago.

Her opinion of President Wilson's state rights' plea in connection with woman suffrage, she summed up as follows:

"President Wilson allows himself to be confined by imaginary state lines when he considers the woman suffrage question. He went to New Jersey to vote for state suffrage. By that act he declared that, in his opinion, a woman who sleeps in New Jersey but who goes over to New York every day in the year, is fit to vote; but if she both sleeps and works in New York, he has no right to express an opinion as to whether she shall enjoy her political freedom. He would have no right, he holds, to urge a federal amendment which would grant suffrage to the women of New York, although he has the right to vote on the principle of political freedom for women in New Jersey. He cannot step over an imaginary state line.

"Originally he held the same opinion on child labor, although at the last moment, when political expediency seemed to deman it, he forced a national child labor bill down the straining throats of a reluctant southern Democracy."

Others who have entered the campaign recently, either as organizers or speakers, are Miss Helen Todd, secretary of the International Child Welfare League; Miss Maud Younger, of San Francisco, who has been particularly active in labor questions; Mrs. W. D. Ascough, of Hartford, Connecticut, formerly of Tacoma, Washington, where she helped the women of that state get the vote a few years ago; and Miss Margaretta Van Rensaeller Schuyler, of Portland, Maine, one of the youngest workers in the field but full of enthusiasm, and with a varied newspaper and other training which will stand her in good stead. Mrs. Edna S. Latimer, of Baltimore, one of the most brilliant workers the Congressional Union has ever produced, is "doing her bit" in Nevada; and Miss Katherine Morey, a Brookline, Massachusetts, girl who has become a citizen of Topeka, Kansas, so that she may have the privilege of voting this fall, is organizing in that state with Miss Kathleen Taylor, of New York

Miss Todd is known as one of the finest women speakers in the United States. She has gone to Arizona to begin her stump-speaking campaign for the Woman's Party, and after going through some of the other states, expects to wind up in California, her home state, in time to vote against President Wilson and the Democratic candidate for Congress.

Special emphasis is being laid by Miss Todd on the preparedness side of the woman suffrage question, her argument being that in these days when the women are helping to bear the heavy burdens of taxation which preparedness has brought and when it is they who would have to give up sons and husbands for soldiers, it is a particularly unfitting time to slam the door in their faces and tell them they can have no part in their own government.

Mrs. Ascough, in addition to the work she did in Washington in helping to get the vote for women there, which she herself lost soon after by moving to Connecticut, has assisted in two legislative campaigns in Connecticut and was one of the speakers on the "Suffrage Special" trip. The same legislature in Connecticut which refused to give any consideration to woman suffrage and so restore the ballot to her, passed legislation restoring the ballot to a number of criminals, one of them a murderer. Mrs. Ascough is organizing in Montana.

Miss Younger and Miss Schuyler are both in Wyoming, the former as a speaker, the latter as an organizer. Added to a wealth of experience in labor betterment work, Miss Younger brings to her campaigning experience an intimate knowledge of the ins and outs of practical politics which she has studied in Washington during the passed session of Congress, where she followed closely every step in connection with the Susan B. Anthony amendment. A typical western woman, full of buoyancy and whole-hearted interest in the cause, and of an appealing and delightful personality, it is believed that Miss Younger will make a strong appeal to the western women voters. She enjoys the vote; she believes the eastern women also should have it.

Miss Schuyler, daughter of the Episcopal Canon Missioner of Maine, was secretary to Mrs. August Belmont in New York. She has done suffrage organization work in Maine and Connecticut and has shown marked ability as an organizer. She goes at things in a vigorous fashion, with a determination which, it is believed, will win for her success in her work among the Wyoming women voters.

Miss Paul Suggests Special Session of Congress to Pass Suffrage Amendment

THE overwhelming defeat of the Democratic forces in Maine," said Miss Alice Paul, "indicate how necessary to Mr. Wilson will be the ninety-one electoral votes in the twelve western states where women vote, to enable him to win in November.

"We suggest to Mr. Wilson, that he take heed before it is too late, and call a special session of Congress to pass the national woman suffrage amendment. Only in this way can he hope to avert the vote against him and his party in these twelve doubtful western states, by the members of the Woman's Party."

COMMENTS OF

What Did the President Say?

WHEN the delegates to the suffrage convention at Atlantic City find themselves no longer under the spell of the spoken word, the charm of President Wilson's presence, we wonder what they will make of his message, how much encouragement they will draw from his kind assurance that they are bound to win sometime, his adjuration to them to be "patient" a little longer. The President went to Atlantic City to speak to a representative body of women desperately in earnest in their demand for social and political justice. They treated him with the courtesy that was due his high office. They overlooked for the moment the circumstance that he is a candidate for re-election and ignored the possibility that his mission may have been dictated more by the hope of political advantage than by any real interest in the cause for which they are fighting. And what did the President offer them in return for the honor they accorded him? Ten or fifteen minutes of platitude, a condescending assurance that they had made great progress toward ultimate victory, but no word of advice or encouragement as to the means by which their goal was to be attained, no word of promise of the assistance which he and his party could give were they inclined to take the suffrage issue out of the controversial stage and make it a fact accomplished!

Easily Pleased

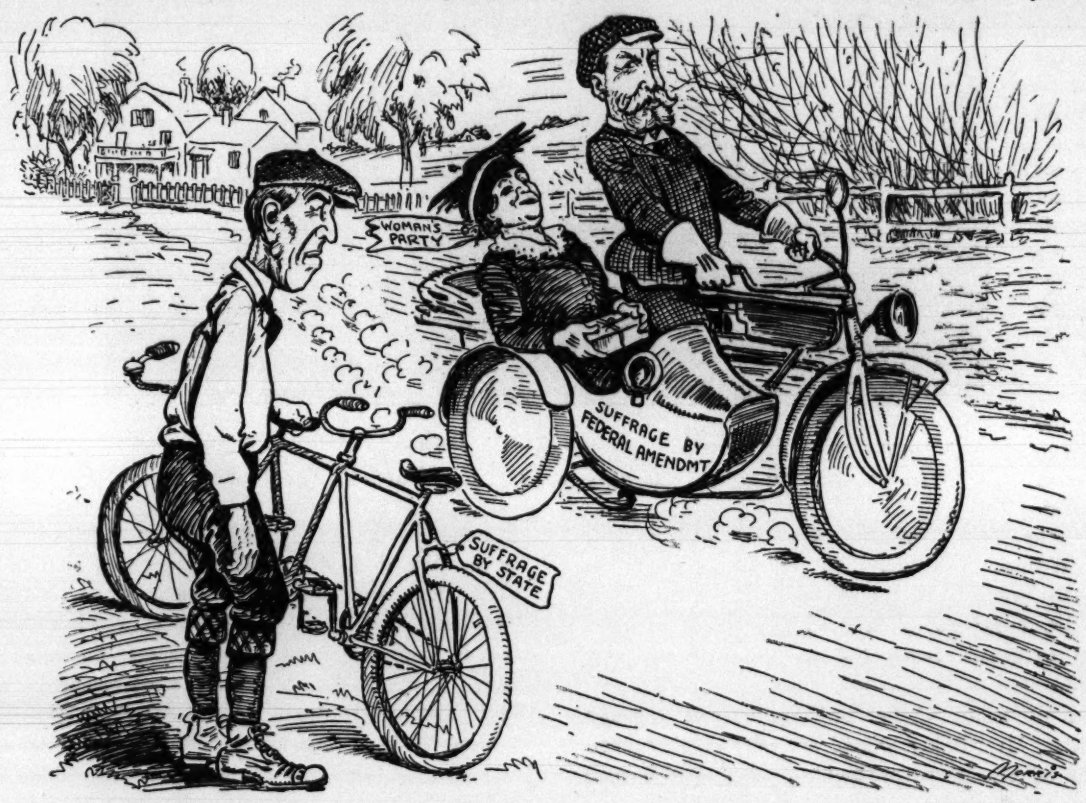
If the women of America are satisfied with that, they are easily pleased. The one thing the convention was eager to learn from the President he studiously refrained from saying. And that was some justification of his preference for state as against national action looking to the enfranchisement of women. The women who heard him are not the fools he apparently took them for. They are quite aware that never in the history of the nation has a national administration, executive and legislative, stood more conspicuously than has his own for a policy of centralization of power and of function. They are equally informed as to the potent influence exercised by President Wilson himself in the counsels of his party, and in the guiding and framing of its legislative program. Yet his failure to explain why in the face of so glaring a fact he has preferred to single out the one subject of woman suffrage and relegate it alone to state action was an insult to the intelligence of his hearers. He exalts states' rights solely so far as suffrage is concerned, but with regard to everything else within the scope of national legislation is content to let the doctrine remain in the scrap heap of discarded or discredited political principles! * * *

Hughes and Wilson

Intelligent suffragists will not be at a loss to discriminate between the outspoken espousal of their cause by Mr. Hughes and the weasel words by which the President, in his Atlantic City address, sought to conceal his real feelings and to evade the issue that was put up to him.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

Are Women People?

WHY did not the President so much as mention woman suffrage in his speech of acceptance?



W. C. Morris in the Independent

He Got There First

He spoke the most flattering and encouraging words as to the promises of the Democratic party to the workingmen, investors, farmers, exporters, sailors and Mexicans.

But to women, not one.

When he said, "Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not," he was not speaking of the enfranchisement of women.

Oh, dear no! He was speaking of Mexico.

Of the woman suffrage plank in his party's platform not one word was said.

Was it too unimportant?

Or too uncertain?

He ended by the assertion that "the people of the United States do not need to be assured now that that platform is a definite pledge."

Are women people, Mr. President?

Because if so, half the people of the United States need exactly that assurance.

And an excellent opportunity has been missed of giving it to them.—*Alice Duer Miller, in the New York Tribune.*

Suffrage a Paramount Issue

THE action taken by the National Woman's Party yesterday, pledging itself to use its efforts to defeat the Democratic party because of its attitude on woman suffrage, brings into prominent relief the question whether this is a narrow and selfish position to take. The ready made, card indexed argument of the Democratic campaign committee is that this attitude would go to show more strongly than anything else that women are not entitled to the ballot.

Is the Position of the Woman s Party Selfish?

This argument assumes that the suffrage question is at best only a minor one; that preparedness, the tariff and foreign policy overshadow it. Therefore, it is argued the women in the various suffrage states should express at the ballot their views on these "paramount" issues and, unlike men voters, should not consider their own interests first.

But is suffrage a minor issue? Assuming that a constitutional amendment should be adopted to enfranchise nearly half of the people of the United States, would not the historian of the future regard it as the political event fraught with the greatest significance of the year in which it was achieved?

Suffrage the Great Issue in the Campaign

Both of the parties, through the timidity of losing votes, played with the suffrage question; but Hughes' personal avowal of the cause, raised it at once to a position of prominence in the campaign. In fact it is the one verbally defined issue in which the lines have been sharply and clearly drawn. On tariff the parties are drawn close together. * * *

In the same manner, the issue is not clearly drawn in preparedness. The party pledges are not materially different. * * *

It looks as if the campaign will be fought out largely on a question of personality—in a large and big sense. It will be the academic, vacillating, Hamlet-like personality of Wilson, in whom thought and action is short-circuited; and Hughes, who represents a stronger, firmer and more robust Americanism.

The different types of personality will make their individual appeals, but the women have the one clearly drawn issue in the campaign. They should not feel that it is a minor one, to be sacrificed for bigger ones. From the point of view of their political enfranchisement and the resultant economic gain, for them, at least, it is far from a minor issue.—*Fresno (Calif.) Republican.*

THE PRESS

Has a State the Moral Right to Disfranchise Women?

THE states without doubt have the right to say who have the right of suffrage in the matter of governing their own internal affairs, and assume the right in matters pertaining to national affairs as well; but have they the moral right to do so?

One of the cardinal principles of our government in all matters is equality; and as our government in fact is the people, why should not all the people in the country be treated alike when the selection of its officers and agents is at issue?

By what reason, logic or right has a woman in the state of California the right to assist in the selection of a President, Senator and member of Congress, whose duty it is to make and execute the laws by which the entire country is governed, when her sister in the state of New York does not possess that right?

Does the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States contemplate such an inequality before the law? Is this inequality right, just or even lawful? Is it not in violation of the fundamental principles of our government? If so, why not make it right?—*Ripon (Calif.) Record.*

In Dead Earnest

MANY of the women of the nation are in dead earnest about the movement that will enfranchise all of the women of the United States, without painfully waiting for years for action by each and every state legislature to submit individual constitutional amendments. * * *

The women of the country who really put the enfranchisement of women above and beyond the petty little prizes of local politics now propose to use the tremendous leverage of the power of the women voters in the twelve suffrage states to bring about equal suffrage throughout the nation.

For the time being they propose to recognize no political party that is not committed to their cause. * * *

It will be interesting now to see whether the women of Montana, who have been proclaiming their devotion to the cause of suffrage, are really to trade the heritage of their sisters in the other states for a temporary mess of political pottage.—*Missoula (Mon.) Daily Missoulian.*

Wilson Jockeyed into False Position

IN view of these facts it is almost inconceivable that President Wilson and his close advisers should stand in the way of this federal amendment. None of the objections which have been made by the President are tenable. And the political consequences of his opposition are much too serious to warrant such a course. The President ordinarily is such a clear thinker and such a good politician that it is the more remarkable that he should have allowed the Republican campaign committee to jockey him into an entirely false position on this question.—*Gilson Gardner, in the Stockton (Calif.) Record.*

Hughes or Wilson

A VOTE for Mr. Hughes will be a vote to place an advocate of national equal suffrage in a commanding position. It will also be a vote against Mr. Wilson, who is openly hostile to national suffrage, favoring it only by states, when he knows that hardly within a generation will it be accepted or even be given respectful consideration in the southern states.—*Tuscon (Ariz.) Citizen.*

The Chivalry Bogey

WOMEN don't want chivalrous, courtly treatment from the President of the United States; they want the right to consideration the same as the men. The time is past when women want to put on their best hats and look their prettiest and go and beg favors of the men. They want the ballot for the protection of their homes and children.—*Venice (Calif.) Vanguard.*

Wilson a Sail-Trimmer

PRESIDENT WILSON is the perfect apostle of opportunism. Hark back to his attitude of a few months ago on the woman suffrage question. How very cavalier he was in his treatment of it and of those who approached him on the subject. Woman suffrage with him then was not a matter of any national concern. As president he had nothing to do with it. It was a matter that concerned the states alone. It was there that woman suffrage must work out its own salvation. Each state could take it up and act upon it but until each state had acted and made it unanimous, it was in no sense a matter of federal concern or in anywise within the purview of a president otherwise engaged in graver public duties. This was his attitude, this was his view, expressed curtly, publicly and with an apparent air of finality that was not to be gainsaid.

But what had appeared to him as a disjointed, spasmodic and somewhat hysterical manifestation of female activity has suddenly assumed the proportion of a national movement sufficiently organized and determined to make itself felt in the presidential campaign in those states where women already enjoy the right of suffrage. Then a radical change comes o'er the spirit of President Wilson's dreams. He appears before the national suffrage convention at Atlantic City. He feels there "the wholesome contagion of the occasion." He comes there "not to fight somebody, but to fight with somebody," and "we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the methods of it." The occasion seems to call for a right-about-face and he executes it in words that are well chosen and graceful, that fit snugly the passing hour but which everybody must know are agile and expedient rather than courageous and the fruit of conviction.

And so we say of Mr. Wilson that he is the perfect product of opportunism and the testimony which he gave at Atlantic City is simply cumulative.—*Portland (Ore.) Evening Telegram.*

A Tip to the Women

WHY bother about what the presidential candidates think? They are just mere men. Tear a leaf from the record of recent events and appear in Washington as the "Sisterhoods"; and tell Congress that unless a universal suffrage law is passed within twenty-four hours, "no power on earth" can light a fire in any kitchen stove throughout the length and breadth of this, our native land.

No votes—no meals.

The president could then truthfully say that the three meal a day plan has the sanction of the judgment of society in its favor.

You have tried feeding the brute, now put him on the husks. The fires of freedom and equality for the sex must be lighted first in the kitchen stove.

The men of Idaho will experience some comfort from the fact that they are already "signed up."—*Idaho Statesman.*

Those Embarrassing Questions

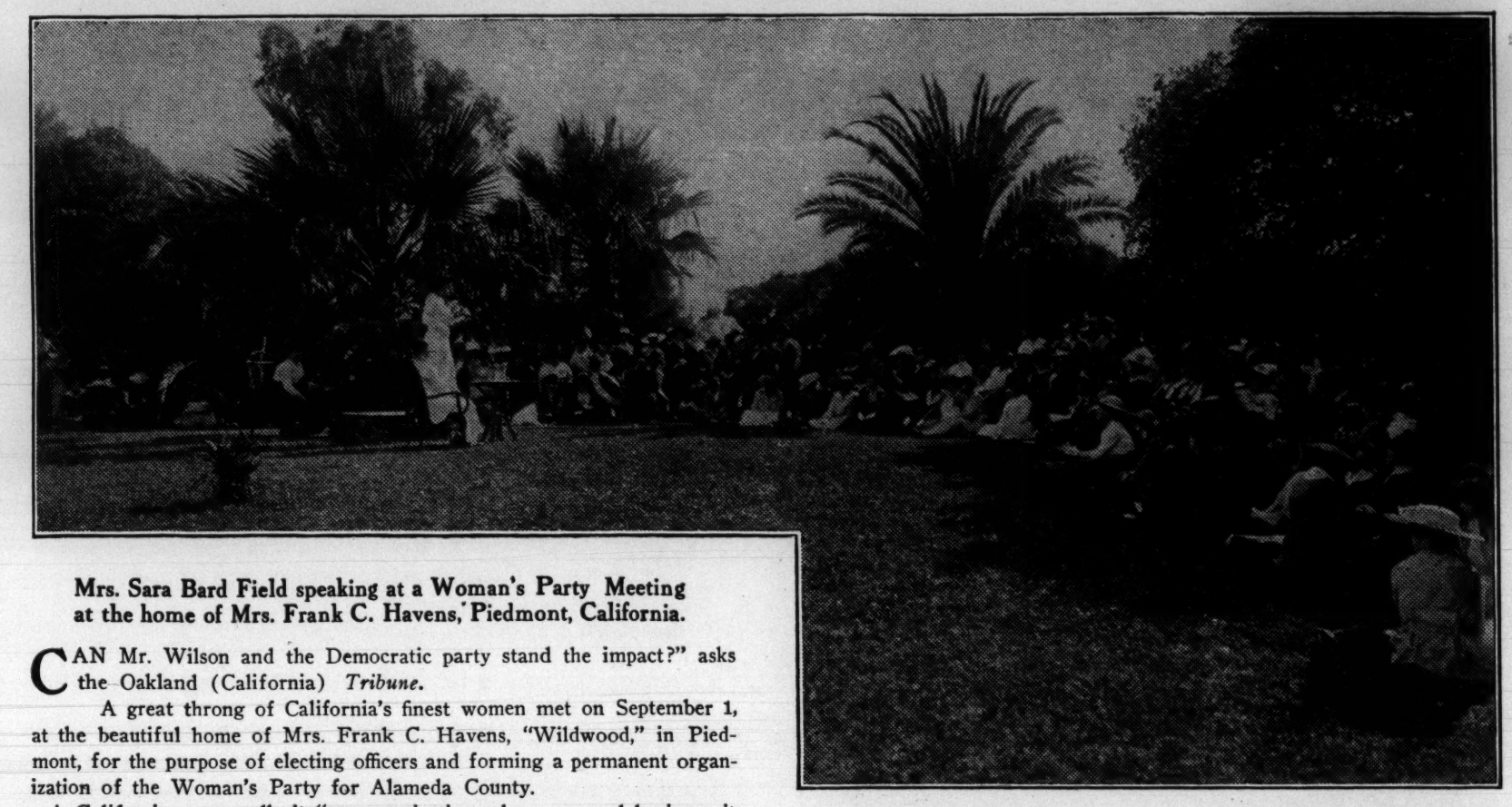
MR. HUGHES has not yet definitely answered the question of his opponents: "What would you have done if you had been in the White House?"

And Mr. Wilson has not definitely answered the question of the suffragists: "Why are you so persistently for states' rights where suffrage is concerned, and so much against states' rights where child labor is concerned."—*Washington (D. C.) Herald.*

Another Change of Front

THE outstanding fact in President Wilson's speech of encouragement to the suffragists is the pronounced, if only implied, weakening of his opposition to the achievement of equal suffrage by federal amendment. "We feel the tide," he said yesterday; "we rejoice in the strength of it; we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it." Again, he declared himself "a little impatient sometimes about the discussion of the channels and methods by which suffrage is to prevail." Yet the President has heretofore expressed in the strongest terms his own profound concern over the method by which suffrage should win forward, and his objection to its attainment by means of a federal amendment. "I am tied to a conviction which I have had all my life that changes of this sort ought to be brought about state by state," he declared on January 6, 1915. "It is a long-standing and deeply matured conviction on my part, and therefore I would be without excuse to my own constitutional principles if I lent my support to this very important movement for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States." The President may partially reconcile these two positions by emphasizing his words of yesterday about the strength of the suffrage tide; once the tide has become overwhelmingly strong over all the nation, it might be argued, the question of methods, of breaking down old legal barriers, is immaterial. But this is a strained interpretation of his last declaration, and one that will not greatly comfort those who feel, as he once did, that, despite the desirability of suffrage, the "method" is of paramount importance.—*New York Evening Post.*

CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE WEST



Mrs. Sara Bard Field speaking at a Woman's Party Meeting at the home of Mrs. Frank C. Havens, Piedmont, California.

CAN Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party stand the impact?" asks the Oakland (California) *Tribune.*

A great throng of California's finest women met on September 1, at the beautiful home of Mrs. Frank C. Havens, "Wildwood," in Piedmont, for the purpose of electing officers and forming a permanent organization of the Woman's Party for Alameda County.

A California paper calls it "an organization whose avowed business it shall be to wage relentless war on President Wilson and the Democratic candidates for Congress because of non-action on the federal suffrage amendment—to wage war, without bitterness or vituperation, but war to the end—unless, as Mrs. Sara Bard Field puts it, 'President Wilson changes his mind. Then we shall call our forces off, joyful in the doing.'"

Mrs. Kent's Declaration of Independence

It was at this meeting that Mrs. William Kent issued her "declaration of independence."

"Mr. Kent," she said, "who, as you know, has always been an ardent supporter of suffrage, does not see this situation as I see it.

"His is the man's psychology—the psychology of the enfranchised class.

"He believes that other policies advocated by President Wilson transcend in importance the federal amendment for suffrage.

"But Mr. Kent is loyal to his convictions, and I am loyal to mine."

This statement called from her audience dynamic applause.

The meeting was presided over by Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, and Mrs. Kent and Mrs. Sara Bard Field were the chief speakers.

Says the *Tribune,* "One of the most convincing political speeches I have ever heard—and in the comparison, sex does not enter—was given by this same little woman, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, without notes, without the embellishments of brass bands or outriders.

"The fervor of unselfish devotion glowed from her trig little body, while her hands—nervous and eloquent—sent home the message of sacrifice,—sacrifice of party tradition to an ideal.

"In detail, the speaker related the story of how, in December last, she and Miss Frances Jolliffe carried the petition of the Congressional Union, demanding a federal suffrage amendment, to the President; of his evasion then, and his consistent attitude of negation since then, 'although,' said Mrs. Field, 'no other President has ever forced legislation, federal and otherwise, down the throats of Congress as has President Wilson.'

"And now comes the day of reckoning!

"And the war is on!

The Slogan of the Woman's Party

"The slogan is, 'Our votes, 4,000,000 of them, in the twelve free states of the West, for the enfranchisement of our eastern sisters.'

"Personally, I would hate to have so analytical a young person on my trail as Mrs. Field, were I Mr. Wilson and in need of votes."

The following women were elected officers of the newly created political district: Chairman, Mrs. William R. Briggs; vice-chairmen, Mrs. Frederick W. Engs, Dr. Minora Kibbe, Mrs. Elinor Carlyle, Mrs. Florence O. Langworthy and Mrs. Benjamin T. White.

A luncheon will be held in the St. Francis Hotel, September 15, followed by a conference at which plans to further the organization in California will be discussed and a program of work arranged.

Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party, will preside. Mrs. Kent will be the toast-mistress of the occasion, and Mrs. Field, Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, and Mrs. Orlow Black will be the chief speakers.

Miss Maud Younger speaks in Wyoming

The beautiful home of Mrs. Melville C. Brown, of Laramie, Wyoming, was a bower of roses, shasta daisies and purple, white and yellow sweet peas, September 2, when Miss Maud Younger was the guest at a brilliant reception given in her honor. Mrs. Brown was assisted in receiving her guests by Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, of Wyoming State University, Dean Ella M. Knight, Mrs. Caroline Duniway, and Mrs. Beverly C. Daly. Mrs. Elizabeth Grow, one of the pioneer voters of Wyoming, presided at the tea table, assisted by a group of Wyoming University girls.

Miss Younger made a wonderful speech, and there were present a number of Democratic women who said afterwards that they had never before understood how necessary it is for women to stand by women in this great battle.

The Wyoming members of the Woman's Party held an election September 1, at which Dr. Frances M. Lane, of Cody, was chosen chairman; Miss Edith K. O. Clark, Cheyenne; Mrs. Robert A. Morton, Cheyenne; Doctor Grace Raymond Hebard, Laramie; Mrs. B. B. Brooks, Casper; Mrs. George Pexton, Evanston; Mrs. W. H. Dickson, Lander; Mrs. Charles A. Bristol, Cheyenne; Mrs. Ralph Denio, Sheridan; Mrs. W. V. Gage, Worland, vice-chairmen; Mrs. R. D. Kinport, Cheyenne, secretary; Mrs. Galen Fox, Cheyenne, treasurer.

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Contributions toward $200,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

List of Contributions from September 4 through September 13, 1916

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

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Mrs. William Colt.....	.30
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Mrs. R. L. Craig.....	25.00
Mrs. Mary D. Greble.....	25.00
Mrs. N. L. Sage.....	5.00
Mrs. W. P. Worth.....	5.00
Mrs. Smith Crowder.....	5.00
Mrs. F. R. Musser	5.00
A Friend	10.00
Mrs. Rolla V. Watt.....	10.00
Miss Louisa Gibson	5.00
Mrs. Faith C. Jarrett.....	1.00
Mrs. Donald Hooker	100.00
Mrs. T. L. Holman.....	5.00
Miss Addie Engilman.....	1.00
Mrs. Margaret W. Senour.	1.00
Mrs. Emma P. Chandler..	1.00
Mrs. Rose Applebaum....	3.00
Mrs. J. R. Davis.....	1.00
Mrs. Maud L. Loofbourow.	1.00
Miss Jennie Williams....	1.00
Anonymous	20.00
Mrs. H. B. Fairchild.....	5.00
Mrs. Phoebe Hearst.....	500.00
Miss Bridget Sullivan...	5.00
Mrs. Robert G. Fuller.....	10.00
Mrs. A. C. Rykerd	1.00
Mrs. Pepler	1.00
Mrs. Orton Patterson ...	1.00
Mrs. J. B. Newman (collected)	2.00
Mrs. Travis Cochran....	100.00
Mrs. Louise Root Coonley.	10.00
Mrs. Harriet K. Jackman.	10.00
Miss Laura McCurdy	1.00
Mrs. Davis Ewing	5.00
Mrs. Fannie F. Babbitt...	2.00
Miss Carrie Wright	1.00
Mrs. H. M. Dunlop.....	5.00
Mrs. Maud W. Adams....	100.00
Mrs. George Busey.....	1.00
Miss Alice C. Putman....	1.00
Mrs. Eliza Vincent	1.00
Mrs. A. J. Cope.....	.50
Mrs. Mary Lee	.50
Mrs. Nettie M. Brown....	1.00
Mrs. O. B. Dobbins.....	1.00
Mrs. F. H. Bogg.....	1.00
Mrs. Myrtle Mann Gillett.	1.00
Miss Mary Frances Frothingham	1.51
Mrs. Brackett Bishop.....	5.00
Mrs. Gilson Gardner (collected)	2.00
Mrs. George Watkins....	5.00
Mrs. Benjamin A. Howes..	.11
Mrs. Janet M. Bearse....	25.00
Membership Fees	40.25
Collection	30.14
Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Miss Lucy Burns.....	20.00
Mrs. William Kent ...	175.00
Total	1,367.81
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	155,521.55

National Headquarters Receipts:

Total collected by National Headquarters through September 13, 1916.....	$156,889.36

Contributions made to Massachusetts Headquarters:

Miss Grace Webber Jones	10.00
Miss Katherine A. Morey	2.00
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey....	2.00
Mr. Walter G. Morey....	2.00
Mrs. Calvin Austin	2.00
Miss Anna Murdock	4.00
Mrs. Thomas H. Gray, Jr.	2.00
Mr. Thomas H. Gray, Jr.	1.00
Miss Susan Wilcox	4.00
Miss von Arnim	2.00
Miss Emma F. Baxter..	2.00
Miss Louise Murdock...	2.00
Miss Margaret Krebs....	2.00
Mrs. Olive Halladay Hasbrouck	5.00
Mrs. Edward F. Townsend	2.00
Mrs. Janet M. Bearse....	2.00
Mrs. Genevieve M. Fuller	2.00
Miss Leonid Leonard	1.00
Mr. R. D. Hasbrouck....	2.00
Mrs. Gertrude B. Newell..	7.00
A Friend	2.00
Total	60.00
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	16,987.62

Branch Receipts:

Total collected by the Branches through September 13, 1916.....	$17,047.62
Grand total	$173,936.98

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Miss Alice Paul	1
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	1
Miss Ethel Ferry	2
Miss Clara Louise Rowe	2
Mrs. Sardis Summerfield	1
Mrs. Ella St. Clair Thompson	1
Mrs. Hazle Buck Ewing	1
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis	1
Miss Anne H. Martin	1
Miss Cornelia Wyse	2
Miss Frances Frothingham	1
Miss Marie Schmidt	1
Mrs. W. K. Morley	5
Miss Margery Gibson Ross	1
Mrs. W. M. Waters	1
Massachusetts Branch, Congressional Union	1
Mrs. Frances C. Haire	1
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith	1
Total	25
Preeviously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	3,733
Total through September 9, secured by members	3,758

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PIQUE NECKWEAR:

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